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ABSTRACT

Dorothy Day and the American Catholic Worker Movement are paradoxical in that they are at the same time conservative and radical, liturgical and rebellious, holy and subversive. These apparently paradoxical qualities become clear when translated through the components of the prophetic movement model. Within this model, prophetic movements are characterized by the following qualities: (1) they address both the religious and the political establishments; (2) they are led by a charismatic leader who existentially identifies with a "spiritual source" and with the poor; (3) their rhetoric advocates radical changes in the political establishment--using confrontational strategies--and professes moderate changes in religious institutions--using managerial strategies--but announces no changes in the adherence to basic spiritual values; (4) their rhetoric includes declarations and reproaches about the current political and religious orders, and concludes with either warnings or promises for the future; and (5) the rhetoric dramatizes the current state of affairs through the charismatic leader's reliance on parables and vivid stories. (FI)

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"Prophetic Movements: A Study in Conservative Radicalism"

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Introduction

This research attempts to describe and clarify the components of seemingly paradoxical movements--movements that have elements of conservatism, radicalism along with religious and political orientations. The author proposes a theory of, what she chooses to call prophetic movements. The nature of prophetic movements includes numerous qualities uncharacteristic in current movement theory. After a description of the derivation of the qualities of prophetic movements, by combining literature in movement theory, leadership postulates and prophetic scholarship, a case study, of the Catholic Worker Movement will be offered as an example of this type of movement.

Traditional Approaches: Movement Theory

Generally, the early studies in movements emphasize an establishment-conflict orientation. Leland M. Griffin defined the basic parameters of the study of movements. He claimed that when people (1) have become discontented with some aspect of their environment (whether social, political, economic, religious, or intellectual) and (2) make a joint effort to promote change in their environment, and (3) see their efforts either succeed or fail, a movement has occurred.[1] Also, Griffin outlined three "phases" of movement-development: the inception period, the rhetorical crisis phase, and the consummation phase.[2] In this ground-breaking article, Griffin introduced a basic definitional component of movements: corporate dissatisfaction. According to Griffin, when one segment of society, dissatisfied with the establishment, attempts to implement a change directed towards the status quo, a movement has been born.

Charles Lomas, joining Griffin, defined a social movement as many people experiencing or sensing an injustice or apparent injustice in the social order and, as an unrestful collective, calls for active change. Lomas claimed that in addition to a demand for change, the discontented bank together and then stand apart from the unjust establishment. Also, Lomas indicated that a movement's call for active change must meet massive resistance from the enduring social order.[3]

Robert S. Cathcart criticized the establishment-conflict theory of movements, and offered a redefinition. Cathcart argued that because movements are a special category of rhetorical transaction, the traditional movement-definitions were both imprecise and too general:

> Movements are carried forward through language, both verbal and non-verbal, in strategic [ways] that bring about identification of the individual with the movement...[M]ovement is a form related to a rationale and a purpose...one which gives substance to its rationale and purpose.[4]

Cathcart then unfolded a rhetorical definition of movements: "It is this reciprocity or dialectical enjoinment in the moral arena which defines movements and distinguishes them from other dramatistic forms."[5] Cathcart emphasized that the "necessary ingredient" for the rhetorical dimension of political or social movement is the "dialectic tension growing out of morel conflict."[6]

Besides Cathcart, Ralph R. Smith and Russel R. Windes pointed out the limitations of the establishment-conflict theory of social movements and does not call for radical change in the establishment but rather initiates modifications in the existing social order.[7]

Robert S. Cathcart extended his previous rhetorical definition of movements and proposed that a true movement is a kind of ritual whose most characteristic form is confrontation.[8] Cathcart rejected a definition of movements that in any way upholds or modifies the established social order and accepts only a definition that outrightly rejects the establishment's values and basic hierarchical structure. Cathcart called the former definition managerial in the form and the latter definition as confrontational:

> It is this confrontational aspect--the questioning of the basic values and societal norms--that makes true movements a real threat that cannot be explained away as a temporary malfunction of the system or as the conspiratorial work of a handful of fanatics.[9]

In effect, Cathcart categorized many of the innovational or conservative "types" of movements, whose focus is on adjustments to the social, as managerial in form. Cathcart claimed that these reform movements do not belong on a continuum with radical movements, whose thrust is on revolutionary change and thus confrontational in form.[10] Cathcart made a further distinction between reform movements and radical movements in terms of the Burkeian notions of identification and consubstantiation. Cathcart showed that the collective behavior of reform movements, while recognizing a division, identifies with the basic values and order of the system and strives to "gain acceptance of that which will perfect...the system."[11] Cathcart illustrated that radical movements, on the other hand, are composed of people who have totally rejected the prevailing social order and are ready to confront the existing order.[12] The radical movements, then, embraced a confrontational form that in no way identifies with the current system.

Interestingly enough, all of the theorists--from Griffin to Cathcart--focused on the variations in the type, form, or structure of the existing establishment. The theorists assumed that a movement rises up against one existing political or social order. Yet, some movements simultaneously respond to both religious and political-social establishments. This means, then, that one movement could have both a radical and a reformational orientation. One movement could identify with the basic values and hierarchy of the existing religious order, and thus be a reform movements regarding that particular establishment. At the same time, and building from the reform-value construct, the same movement could totally reject the existing political-social establishment and propose a completely new order. To use Cathcart's terminology, a religious-political movement could be both reformational and radical in nature: reform, in that the movement upholds and reinforces the basic tenets of the religious establishment, thus is managerial in form; and radical, in that the same movement rejects the values of the political-social order, thus is confrontational in form. Ths Catholic Worker movement reflects this type of movement.

Traditional Approaches: Leadership Theory

Central to most movements, whether reform or radical or both, stands the leader. Eric Hoffer described the leader of a movement as the one who familiarizes the masses "with the idea of change, and of creating a receptivity to a new faith.[13] Hoffer centralized the role of the leader as communicator of the dissatisfactions and concerns of the movement to the larger existing establishment.

Herbert Simons, like Hoffer, indicated that the leader of the movement vocalizes the discontent and demands of the particular collective entity

to the current social order. Simons explored the complex functions of rhetoric in a movement and rested the responsibility on the leader's capacity "to fulfill the requirements of...(the) movement by resolving or reducing rhetorical problems.[14] According to Simons, the most serious problems grow out of the conflicting demands placed on the leader by members of the movement as well as by people in the larger social order. The rhetorical strategies of the leader, then, become attempts to "thread... [the leader's] way through an intricate web of conflicting demands."[15] He emphasized that the "key to a movement-leader's success" is the person's capacity "to embody a higher wisdom, a more profound sense of justice; to stand above inconsistencies by articulating overarching principles."[16]

Although both Hoffer's and Simons' theories begin to characterize the general importance and function of movement leaders as well as their rhetorical difficulties, the literature does not closely relate to the specific character and rhetoric of a leader of a radical-reformational-religious political movement as evident in the Catholic Workers Movement. Nevertheless, a body of literature on the character and communication of prophets offers some insight into the rhetoric of such an unusual movement.

Prophetic Literature: Synthesizing Movement and Leadership Theory

Abraham J. Heschel, Jewish theological scholar, defined a prophet as a watchman, a servant, a messenger of God:

> The prophet...is endowed with a mission, with the power of a work not his own that accounts for his greatness--but also with a temperment, concern, character, and individuality.[17]

The prophet, possessed by the word of God, feels compelled to speak to the people. Nabi, the Hebrew work for prophet, translates as "one who speaks for or in behalf of another."[18] A prophet, then, proclaims, in the language of faith, a message to his or her contemporaries from God. The prophet's own personality and experiences as well as his personal awareness of God greatly influence the message. Although the prophets communicate a specific message usually in the form of a speech, they also bear witness to those works of faith by their actions for "the prophet not only conveys, he reveals."[19]

The true prophet remains actively dedicated to God's vision for humanity. The prophet, emotionally motivated by God's concern for the human being, calls for specific earthly action rather than sentimental other-worldly meditation.

> Nothing is further from the prophet mind than to inculcate or to live out of feeling, a religion of sentimentality. Not mere feeling, but action, will mitigate the world's misery, society's injustice or the people's alienation from God. Only action will relieve the tension between God and man.[20]

The prophet carries a divinely inspired and often disturbing message to the people. Usually the prophet denounces the complacency, crude habits and general evils in the contemporary social order. Theology or spiritual abstractions do not concern the prophet. Instead, the prophet's message focuses on the specific evils of the immediate cultures. In the name of God, the prophet communicates an intense indignation towards the injustices of society. Heschel asserted that the prophet's predominant issue concerned the destiny of the state and its relationship to the needs of the people.[21] The prophet denounces evil political doctrines and rebukes the adherents to the ungodly status quo.

The prophet not only protests the evil in the political structure but also exposes any scandalous situations in the religious realm. The prophet realizes that religion often distorts what God demands of people. Historically, prophets publicly reproached priests who condoned violence, tolerated injustice or substitutes religious ceremony for specific justice. Wherever injustices appear, the true prophet adamantly protests.[22]

In addition to the condemnation of evils in the political or religious structure, the prophet reminds people of their individual responsibility to God and their fellow human beings. The prophet talks about the need to change the callousness of the inner person before revolutionary social changes can occur. Heschel, noting this principle, explained

> The prophets remind us of the moreale state of a people: Few are guilty but all are responsible. If we admit that the individual is in some measure conditioned or affected by the spirit of society, an individual's crime discloses society's corruption.[23]

The prophets come before their contemporaries with a message. Although prophets, because of their intensely divergent backgrounds, differ in their modes of communication, they all share certain general forms of expression. Most characteristically, prophets engage in oracles that include both oral proclamations and predictions. Prophetic scholar M.E. Chase defined the basic element of the oracle as

> (1) a fervent appeal for the realization of a wrong and dangerous condition or situation and (2) a plea for change, its cure, by the transformation of the minds and souls of men.[24]

In this oracle, the prophet weaves together an exhortation about the present state of affairs with a warning about how the current situation will influence the future. Heschel explains this interlocking balance between the prophet's proclamation and prediction:

> The prominent theme is exhortation, not mere prediction. While it is true that foretelling is an important ingredient and may serve as a sign of the prophet's authority, his essential task is to declare the work of God to the here and now; to disclose the future in order to illumine what is involved in the present.[25]

The prophetic oracle usually has three parts: the declaration, the reproach, and the promise. At the beginning of the oracle, the prophet speaks out against the evil conditions existent in the current society. The prophet describes the manifold injustices of the social system with particular focus on the system's treatment of the poor. In the second aspect of the oracle, the prophet condemns the specific social, economic and religious institutions which perpetuate the evils. Additionally, the prophet challenges the people responsible for the deplorable conditions. In the final phase of the oracle, the prophet reminds the people about the promises of God.[26] Sometimes these promises concern God's retribution in the future and on other occasions the promises concern God's pledge of peace.

Additionally, in terms of oracle style, the prophets predominantly use both pathetic and ethical appeals. Using these two modes of communication, they paint vivid pictures of the specific evils of the society. With an urgent impatience toward injustice, the prophets dramatize situations in a most poignent manner. They appeal to the emotions basically through the employment of vivid descriptions and also through emotion-laden words.

The prophets heavily rely on parables or stories to intensify a message.[27] These lively narratives graphically describe the problem of evil in a concrete way. The particular details of the stories bring the

pain of the urgent pathology of the times into clear focus. Again, Heschel clarifies,

> The prophet...casts events. He rarely sings, but castigates. He does more than translate reality into a poetic key: he is a preacher whose...images must not shine, they must burn.[28]

Futhermore, the prophets employ emotion-laden words to communicate their judgements. Heschel observes that the prophet's language is "rarely cryptic" but rather urgent or alarming as if the "words gushed forth from the heart of God, seeking entrance to the heart and mind of man."[29] Heschel describes the language of the prophets as "luminous and explosive, firm and contingent, harsh and compassionate, a fusion of contradictions.[30]

The prophets' use of pathos come from an overwhelming sense of responsibility towards their fellow human beings. The prophets, moved by God's compassion and anger, feel obligated to announce their compelling message to the world. The prophets' use of emotional appeals emerges from their very being. The frequent flights of oratorical vividness spring from the prophets' heart-feld response to both the compassions of God and the needs of humanity. Additionally, the prophets' ethos emerges from an intimate understanding of the people as well as an intense identification with God. The prophets recognized as special individuals, address the people with a simple, urgent and radical plea, spoken in the language of faith, about the current social situation.

Model of Prophetic Movements

Basically, prophetic movements are distinguished from traditional movements in the following areas:

1) The prophetic movement simultaneously addressed both the religious and political establishments;
2) The prophetic movement is led by a charismatic leader who existentially identifies with an Almighty Spiritual Power as well as with the excessively poor in the society;
3) The prophetic movement rhetoric advocates radical changes in the political establishment, using confrontationsl strategies, and professes moderate changes in religious institutions, using managerial strategies, and announces no changes in the adherence to basic spiritual values;
4) The prophetic movement rhetoric includes declarations, and reproaches about the current political and religious orders, and concludes with either warnings or promises for the future;
5) The propnetic movements rhetoric dramatizes the current state of affairs through the charasmatic leader's reliance on parables and vivid stories.

Dorothy Day and The Catholic Worker Movement: A Case Study in Prophetic Movement Rhetoric

The Catholic Worker Movement, co-founded by Dorothy Day in 1933, has been described as the most radical social movement in the history of the American Catholic Church. For the past fifty years, Day, committed to pacifism, volunteer poverty, and a form of Christian communism, has remained the most influential leader of the movement. Many observers of the movement have commented on the quality and quantity of people she has influenced over the years. Raymond Schroth reflected:

> Symbolic mother to part of the American Church, she is recognized as the inspiration behind most creative forces of the American Left: the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists; John Cogley and Thomas Merton... along with members of the "Catonsville Nine."[31]

Although most analysts agree on her significance on our contemporary culture, few offers a basis for understanding her influence. In many ways, Dorothy Day does appear paradoxical. She is both conservative and radical, liturgical and rebellious, holy and subversive. She talks about both individual responsibility and corporate community, personal conversion and collective action. Even though she attends a Roman Catholic mass daily, she also pickets the White House, hands out anti-war leaflets, and speaks out about current political policy. These apparently inigmatic qualities become clear when translated through the components of the prophetic movement model. The aforementioned characteristics of prophetic movements will serve as a method to illustrate how Dorothy Day and the Catholic Worker Movement reflect this type of movement. <u>The prophetic movement simultaneously addresses both the religious and political establishments</u>. Dorothy Day summarizes the philosophical thrust of the Catholic Worker Movement thusly:

> The general aim of the Catholic Worker Movement is to realize in the individual and in society the expressed and implied teachings of Christ. It must, therefore, begin with an analysis of our present society to determine whether we already have an order that meets with the requirments of justice and charity...The society in which we live is generally called capitalist and bourgeois is not in accordance with justice and charity--in economics... in psychology...in morals...
> To achieve a just society we advocate a complete rejection of the present social order and a nonviolent revolution to establish an order more in accord with Christian values...

> Refusal to pay taxes, refusal to take part in civil-defense drills, non-violent strikes, withdrawal from the system are all methods that should be employed.[32]

Specifically, the Catholic Worker Movement has spoken up concerning labor relations, racial injustices, excessive urbanization, anti-Semitism and pacifism. As early as 1936, the Catholic Worker Movement organized Pax, an organization of conscientious objectors. The Pax organization taught, in modern times, no war could be justified and that no individual need accept the authority of the state on this issue. They supported neutrality legislation and a strong international body to settle conflicts between countries.[33]

In the 1930's, The Catholic Worker newspaper was the first paper to publish stories on the "Scottsboro boys," the nine Alabama blacks convicted of rape and threatened with execution. Day demanded their release and proclaimed that the incident was the consequence of an "antagonism... often built upon the struggles of the poor whites and poor blacks," both of whom were "victims of industrialists who grind the face of the poor."[34]

The Catholic Workers not only spoke out against the political system, but also blasted the inactivity of the Institutionalized Church. Day harshly reprimanded Catholic Schools and hospitals for policies of segregation. In 1934, the worker paper published the research of anthropologist, John M. Cooper, who denounced racial discrimination.[35]

Between 1955 and 1970, the Catholic Workers participated in many acts of civil disobedience protesting a war-preparations mentality. In 1955, the government instituted a Civil Defense drill where millions of

people were called upon to stop normal activities and go into fallout shelters. The Catholic Workers refused to take shelter and urged others to protest the drill. The workers, well aware of the punishment for such disobedience, notified the Mayor of New York, the FBI, the New York Police as well as the United Press of their intentions. When the Workers were arrested, a statement, prepared by Dorothy Day, was released.

> We make this demonstration, not only to voice our opposition to war, not only to refuse to participate in psychological warfare, which this air raid drill is, but also as an act of public penance for having been the first people in the world to drop the atom bomb.[36]

Frequently, Dorothy Day objected to the inactivity of the Roman Catholic clergy:

> How can any priest not talk about social justice in the labor field and in the interracial field.. Do we hear that resounding cry, "Woe to the Rich." Do we hear the story of the rich man sitting at his table feasting while the poor sat at the gate with neither food or Medicare.[37]

Dorothy Day did tie the movement with the higher principles of Christianity such as the brotherhood of all people and the supremacy of love in action. Despite the identification with some of the spiritual dogmas, she often criticized the institution and some of the practices of the Church.

Dorothy Day, as the spokesperson for the Catholic Worker Movement, stood up to the current economic, social, and political establishments and radically opposed the way the system treated human beings. She denounced the specific evils of the political-establishment policies as well as denounced the values perpetuated by the political status quo.

She radically objected to the impersonalist, greedy violent ethic stimulated by the American capitalist system. After Dorothy Day radically confronted the political system, she promoted policies, programs, and values of a new order, based on reforms in the religious establishment. She did demonstrate an awareness of two different establishments.

The prophetic movement is led by a charismatic leader who existentially identifies with an Almighty Spiritual Power (God, Allah, etc.) as well as with the excessively poor people in the society.

Dorothy Day opened herself to influences along her life's journey and encountered several unifying forces which helped form her philosophy and power as a communicator. Her philosophy and rhetoric evolved progressively from four influences: Russian writers, Communism, which confirmed her solidarity with the oppressed and the poor; and Peter Maurin and Spiritual Retreats, which offered a spiritual bases for her philosophy and power.

From her youngest years throughout her life, Day read and reflected upon the writings of Russian writers. She reportedly read all of Dostoevsky's works as well as the writings of Tolstoy, Kropotkin and Gorki. She stated that during her early twenties she "was moved to the depths" by reading of the "dregs of life." She claimed that Dostoevsky, by portraying struggling human beings giving sacrifically to others, showed her realistic experiences of love in action among the poor in a society.[38]

From the writing of Peter Kropotkin, a Russian scientist and philosopher-anarchist, she derived a special sensitivity to the plight of

the poor workers. She repeatedly related one passage that seemingly became a theme for her life and work:

> Two courses are open to you if you comprehend the way of the tyrannies handed down to mankind through its long and bloody history: You can either tamper forever with your conscience and finish one day by saying, humanity can go to the devil as long as I am enjoying every pleasure to the full...Or else you can join the ranks of the revolutionaries and work with them for the complete transformation of society...Quit the environment in which you are placed and in which it is customary to speak of the workers as a lot of brutes. Be amongst the people and the question will solve itself.[39]

Day's life was a response to Kropotkin's two-fold pronouncement.

She lived at the Catholic Worker Hospitality Houses (located in the ghettos of several cities) ate with the Bowery-destitute work clothes picked out of the charity bin, and thus personally identified with and lived among the poor of society. Further, in line with Kropotkin's other proclamation, she wrote editorials and gave speeches announcing the need for a new order based on a Spiritual communism.

Dorothy's affiliation with communism, prompted by her realization that the Communists attempted to repair social inequities, deepened her understanding of the workers and the poor as well as offered a specific means to alleviate those abuses. In her witnessing the Communists notion of volunteer poverty and practical community, Day perceived that Communism raised the humane level of the world's forgotten masses by offering food and a sense of community. Bringing the communist ideology to the Catholic Worker Movement, Day talked about the economic aims as "a worker ownership of the means of production and distribution as distinguished from nationalism."[40] She suggested that this calls for widespread

ownership of property by all people as a stepping-stone to communism that would be in accord with the Spiritual teachings of detachment from material goods and common ownership.

Another manifestation of the movement's and Day's identification with the poor, is the doctrine of voluntary poverty. Again borrowing from Communism, the Catholic Worker Movement teaches a rejection of pursuing the goals of the bourgeois culture and an acceptance of voluntary poverty and going to the poor.[41]

As suggested previously, Peter Maurin and the Spiritual retreats stirred in this leader of the Catholic Worker Movement a strong identification with God. In 1932, after Day covered the Hunger March for a newspaper, she met Pater Maurin, the peasant Catholic whose life and ideas, she later claimed, dominated her life. As a Catholic Intellectual, Maurin synthesized the diverse ideas of such thinkers as Kropotkin, Jacques Maritain, Emmanual Mounier and St. Francis of Assissi.[42] From a Spiritual orientation, he proposed a reconstructed society where it "would easier for people to be good." Maurin offered a program, referred to as "cult, culture and cultivation," with people working the land, using their hands, sharing philosophy and spirituality, and participating in the common life.

Maurin's central doctrine of personalism most influenced Dorothy Day's own spirituality. Maurin emphasized that each individual is accountable to God to self and to others. He taught that in order for the reconstruction of a society to occur, people's heart had to individually change through an identification with God.[43]

In 1932, Day the activist and journalist, joined Maurin the visionary and personalist, and together they began a newspaper and movement that introduced their blending of ideas to the world . Peter's spirituality and philosophy gave Dorothy's intuitive, heart-felt impulses substance and specific direction.

Though the Russian writers gave young Dorothy Day a vicarious glimpse of love and suffering , Communism exposed her to specific action as a response to human needs, and Pater Maurin provided her with a particular way to bring her Catholicism and activism together, in her middle years, she longed for more spiritual nourishment. She participated in several Catholic retreats and reported the sustaining role the retreats had in her times of tribulation. As she participated in the strict fasting, silence, prayer and meditation, she discovered a new transcendent hope and spiritual conviction. Then, too, the retreats served to refresh her exhausting life. She admitted that the retreats deepened her spiritual commitment which, in turn, revitalized her for the awesome responsibility as the leader of the Catholic Worker Movement.[44]

As leader of this prophetic movement, Dorothy Day manifested an identification with God as well as reflected a solidarity with the poor. As leader of this prophetic movement, Dorothy Day personified the balance between inward spiritual conviction, as a result of her connection with God, and outward committed action, as a result of her identification with the oppressed in society.

The prophetic movement rhetoric advocates radical changes in the political establishment, using confrontational strategies, and professes moderate changes in religious institutions, using managerial strategies,

and announces no changes in the adherence to basic spiritual values.

Clearly, when Dorothy Day described the need for a new order in the form of the Worker movement, she denounced the old order unequivocally. She attacked the entire economic, social, and political structures of the current American system. Dorothy Day exposed the evils of the current social order by pointing out the physical, psychological, and spiritual devastation evident in the land. Using a confrontational rhetorical strategy, she stood up to the existing order and shourted, No! She cried No! to the corruption in government; No! to the killing in war; No! to the system that allowed men and women to go hungry, unsheltered and unloved.

Day exposed the seedy side of life caused by capitalism. Often, she described the slums in minute detail and denounced the system for perpetuating such atrocious conditions. In one speech, she described one such scene:

> ...consider what the slums are--the conditions that people have to live in -the rats and the vermin they have to live with--and every variety of bug. Think in terms of the difficulties of the life of a family and the constant pressure our society places on them..trying to get every penny out of them by advertising...the government takes from the salary of the Puerto Rican poor...There's constant pressure on the poor to give in to the American way of life...[45]

Day not only exposed the evils of the social order that allowed slums, horrible working situations, or hunger among the people, but also denounced the establishment's perpetuation of war. Between 1963 and 1976, an absolutely unrelenting pacifist, she protested against the Vietnam War on a regular basis:

> The works of the war are those of destruction of food, the spraying of crops, the defoliation of jungles and forests, the flooding of fields, the destroying of homes, and the bombing out of villages.[46]

Day used a confrontational strategy to build an intensely clear need for a new social order. Obviously, the unrelentless confrontational emphasis laid the foundation for a description of the philosophy and programs of the Catholic Worker movement, the new social order. After confronting the old order, she announced the new order. Directly in line with the major purpose of her rhetoric, Dorothy Day outlined the philosophy and specific programs of the Catholic Worker movement. In announcing the new order, she employed a reformational type strategy. In other words, she utilized a much more moderate rhetorical strategy when describing the philosophical foundations and practical programs of the Worker movement. While she clearly rejected the authority of the state, and thereby used radical, or confrontational rhetoric when addressing the old order, she most definitely accepted the spiritual values of the Church and therefore employed moderate or managerial rhetoric when explaining the new order.

Dorothy Day provided a statement in one of her speeches, reflective of the two strategy orientations:

> I would say that out greatest enemy is the state. A long time ago Peter Maurin used to talk about our enemy the state. The whole concentration on federal grants, on foundations, on money, on the constant expectation--the necessity of the government to do anything...I think if you go by the teachings of the gospel and the Sermon on the Mount, we'd all be overwhelmed... The Catholic Worker Movement is 40 years old now...we have volunteers. Nobody gets a salary. We will wear clothes that come in.47

When outlining the philosophy of the Catholic Workers, she connected the movement to the higher principles of Christianity such as "the brotherhood of all people" and "the supremacy of love in action." Despite the strong identification with some of the spiritual dogmas of the Church,

often she criticized the institution and some of the practices of the Church. On one such occasion, she criticized some of the Southern parishes thus:

> I know of one Cathloic school in Mississippi where the young priests talk down to students and call them--boys. Also, they had Negro women make mammy dolls to sell at bazaars to raise funds for the mission work...and always with this sense of looking upon other grown people as children.[48]

Then she expressed extreme dissatisfaction with the slowness of the Catholic Schools integration program. However, right after this admonishment, Dorothy Day talked about the "fully integrated" Holy Name of Jesus Hospital.[49]

Dorothy Day moderately reproached some of the specific actions of the Church, but never denounced the Church's higher values. Whereas she chided some of the bishops' support of the Vietnam War, Day advocated the Church's principles of love and peace.

In the tradition of the prophets, she denounced the old order and announced the new social order. In rejecting the economic, social, and political establishments, Dorothy Day primarily used a direct confrontational strategy. Characterized as exposing the evils of the status quo, with no identification whatsoever with the system, the confrontational strategy created a teremendous need for some kind of action. In outlining the principles and programs of the new order, Dorothy Day most often utilized a moderate, reformationaly strategy. Characterized as building on the values of the religious order, with some identification with the Church, the reformational strategy provided a variation in creating a new order from the accepted values.

The prophetic movement rhetoric includes declarations, and reproaches about current political and religious orders, and concludes with either warnings or promises for the future.

Between 1963 and 1976, Dorothy Day organized the majority of her talks in a remarkably similar fashion. Usually, she started by commenting on a most recent personal experience, often occurring in her travels within the past few days. In a typical speech, she began,

> I came this afternoon from a sick bed. I've been sick for three days with a cold. The three days before I spent in West Virignia at the federal prison together with some political prisoners, as well as people convicted of murder, bank rob-ery and so.[50]

Dorothy Day's short, personal introduction usually illustrated the corruption of the social order. After the introductory story, she stated her purpose--to talk about the Catholic Worker movement. Then, before she described the actual philosophy and goals of the Catholic Worker movement, she would outline the specific inadequacies of the current social structure. In great detail, Dorothy Day related story after story about the injurious, inadequate economic, social, and political systems that attempted to deal with such contemporary problems as labor, poverty, racism, and war.

After she had detailed the problems in the American society, she then turned to outlining how the Catholic Worker movement attempted to alleviate the evils of society. In her commentary about the personalism, communitarianism, and nonviolent philosophy, she related how the Catholic Workers responded to current issues such as racism and war. Additionally, she delineated the specific programs of Houses of Hospitality and Communes as well as the functions of The Catholic Worker paper.

In her conclusion, Dorothy Day typically did not recapitulate her main ideas. Instead, as the prophet, she ended with a hopeful and often emotional call for individual action. Almost every discourse had a conclusion similar to the following one:

> There is a new spirit in the air, a new sense of brotherhood. I think that despite the horror in which we do live in, there can be a great opening up by young people like yourselves. There is a great vision for you to see how things could be.[51]

Basically, Dorothy Day arranged her 1963-1976 sppeches in the following way:

Introductory Story

Statement of General Purpose

Statement of Facts, Circumstances of Current Corrupt Social Order

--Suggesting Need for New Order

Statement of Philosophy, Programs, Issues of Catholic Worker Movement

--Detailing Specifics of New Order

Conclusion

--Appealing for Individual Action

Day utilized a structure similar to the prophetic oracle on two accounts: proclamation and condemnation. She proclaimed the mainfold injustices of the system with particular focus on the system's treatment of the poor. Then again, as in the prophetic oracle, she condemned specific economic, social, and political institutions which perpetuated those evils. However, she did not enunciate, in the strictest sense, a prediction. Instead, Day outlined the specific philosophy and program of the Catholic Worker Movement. Whereas portions of her message focused on reminders of God's promises of hope or doom, her message detailed instead specific programs based on spiritual values. As in the prophetic

oracle, she reminded the audiencd about the dynamic relationship between Spirit and humanity, but she went one step further than the oracle. She specified what that dynamic relationship looked like in concrete programs.

The prophetic movement rhetoric dramatizes the current state of affairs through the charismatic leader's reliance on parables and vivid stories.

Dorothy Day painted vivid pictures of the corruption in the contemporary social order by use of personal stories and extended examples. On one occasion, in 1963, when attempting to portray the racism and fear in the South, she recounted a recent personal experience, and she described a scene where she and another woman sat in a station wagon at one of the Southern farms in order to keep a night-watch on the driveway entrance. Recently, white folk, Dorothy explained, had threatened to burn their inter-racial farming community. She said:

> ...This other woman and I got to talking on this cool April evening. She was a woman vary much interested in community...She had an accordian--she was playing some Protestan hymns...About two o'clock in the morning, while we were engaged in conversation, of course, ...a car with no lights on came down the road and suddenly we were shot at--the car we were in was just peppered with shots. The bullets made sound-holes in the car and we suddenly realized we had been shot at...My bones turned to water, and I had complete physical fear all through my body...my whole body melted away with fear.[52]

Evidently, Dorothy Day took it upon herself to recount the stories heard on her travels to her audiences. At the Human Relations Conference, hot off the Southern trail, Dorothy Day delivered several stories about the atrocities in the South. She told a story about a Black undertaker who was active in the civil rights movement. The day after he unsuccessfully

tried to help others register to vote, he was called out to bring a woman to a hospital. Dorothy Day continued the story:

> He was taken deep into the woods--Federal property by the way--along the Natchez Trail. They stripped his clothes off his back and he was beaten with bullwhips. Three men beat him with bullwhips...according to the testimony of the doctors who described the condition of his body.[53]

Day's stories and examples about the problems in the society focused on the physical violence in the social order. She detailed the pangs of hunger, the destruction of human flesh, and the physical coldness of fear. These stories painted a horrifying picture of the social order on a most fundamental level: human need for physical security. Through these stories Dorothy Day--the prophet--made her audience look at real life-and-death problems existing in the contemporary society. The stories created a realization in the audience that the current social order, filled with violence, corruption, and injustice, needed to be changed.

Day used stories and examples not only to describe the deficits in the contemporary societal structure, but also to delineate the philosophy, goals, and programs of the Catholic Worker movement. As might be expected, the stories and examples about the Catholic Worker, although also preoccupied with physical security, radiated a totally different tone.

Dorothy Day's delineation of the philosophy and programs of the Catholic Worker movement focused on specific people who passed out the papers, ran the Houses, and farmed the Communes. Often she described a particular person's background, education, talents, and introduction to and development in the Catholic Worker movement. For example, Dorothy explained once how one "very unpre-possessing" young man, a onetime hotel

clerk, had connected with the Catholic Worker in New York. Dorothy claimed that "He used to keep a diary open in very obvious places for everybody to read. It said just what he thought of everybody around the place."[54] After some arguments, he left New York and opened his own Hospitality House in Oakland, California. Dorothy continued,

> Well, I did not like him at all in New York, but when I got to Oakland, maybe six months later, and saw him dirty and begrimed and exhausted and worn out with his labors, of starting a House in Oakland, I began to have far more respect for him...They actually served about a thousand a day there, in the off-season...[55]

She concluded, "This is how a Hospitality House begins, and how it goes on."[56]

Whereas Dorothy Day's stories about the current social order functioned to illustrate the graphic physical depravity rampant in the society, the stories about the Catholic Worker movement served to show the human warmth of a community. Generally, the stories about the social order vividly personalized the malfunctions of the economic, social, and political establishment. Dorothy Day's choices dramatized the fearful conditions in the society. More specifically, the stories and examples emphasized that the current social order did not provide for the most basic needs of food, shelter, and clothing for men and women. The personal, often vivid, stories created a tone of immediate danger; of immediate need for some change.

In the same vein, the Dorothy Day stories and detailed examples about the Catholic Worker movement personalized the philosophy, goals, and programs of the movement, but the tone was secure rather than fearful.

The stories Dorothy Day told about people and experiences in the Catholic Worker movement lent an immediate and direct tone to the way the movement responded to the inadequate social order. The stories themselves reflected the personalist, communitarian ideals of the movement. Dorothy Day talked about the movement in terms of, for example, Ammon Hennacy's doctrination of a particular tax person, she not only communicated the personalist philosophy of the movement but also shared an intimate family tale about one of the movement's favorite members. As any mother might tell choice stories about her children, so, too, did Dorothy Day disclose fond memories of her "children" who were at the heart of the movement. The stories, then, allowed her audience to share vicariously in the ups and downs of the Catholic Worker family. The stories and detailed examples about the workers emitted a sense of family security. Consequently, Dorothy Day's stories and examples had two functions: to detail vividly the total depravity of the current social order, and to portray the familial security in the new social order of the Catholic Worker movement.

Conclusion

Dorothy Day and the Catholic Worker Movement offers a prototype for prophetic movements. As indicated in this research, and reflected in the Catholic Worker Movement, the prophetic movement includes the following qualities:

The leader of the prophetic movement identifies at the same time with a Spiritual Source and with the earthly poor. As such, the movement

rhetoric addresses both the political status quo and the established Institution of the Church, but each in a different manner. Using confrontational strategies, the prophetic movement rhetoric demands radical changes in the political establishment and using managerial strategies proposes moderate changes in the religious establishment. The rhetoric continually emphasizes basic spiritual universal values and claims these values lay the foundation for the philosophy and programs of the movement. Additionally, in the tradition of the prophetic oracle, the prophetic movement rhetoric follows a structure of declaration and reproach. And finally, the prophetic movement rhetoric heavily relies on parables and vivid stories as major supporting materials. The parables, using a moral, and stories serve to bring the current pain of the times into clear emotional focus.

Dorothy Day and the Catholic Worker Movement provided an example of the rhetoric of prophetic movements. Several other seemingly paradoxical movement, with political and religious and conservative and radical components, could be more clearly understood when translated through the theory of prophetic movements.

Footnotes

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[6]Ibid., p. 88.

[7]Ralph R. Smith and Russel R. Windes, "The Innovational Movement: A Rhetorical Theory," Quarterly Journal of Speech, 61 (1975), p. 142.

[8]Robert S. Cathcart, "Movements: Confrontation as Rhetorical Form," Southern Speech Communication Journal, 43(Spring, 1978), p. 233.

[9]Ibid., p. 238.

[10]Ibid., p. 239.

[11]Ibid., p. 239-40

[12]Ibid., p. 241.

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[14]Herbert W. Simons, "Requirements, Problems and Strategies: A Theory of Persuasion for Social Movements," Quarterly Journal of Speech, 56 (February, 1970), pp. 2-3.

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[17]Abraham J. Heschel, The Prophets (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1962), p. xiv.

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[23]Heschel, Prophets, p. 16.

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[25]Heschel, Prophets, p. 12.

[26]Chase, Common Reader, pp. 124-125.

[27]Douglas, Dictionary, p. 1040.

[28]Heschel, Prophets, p. 7.

[29]Ibid., pp. 6-7.

[30]Ibid., p. 7.

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[32]Day, "Catholic Worker Positions," pp. 52-54.

[33]William D. Miller, A Harsh and Dreadful Love: Dorothy Day and the Catholic Worker Movement. (Garden City, New York: Image Books, 1979), p. 162.

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[41]Day, The Catholic Worker, June 1941, p. 4.

[42]Dwight MacDonald, "Profile: Dorothy Day," New Yorker, v. 28 (October 4, 1952), p. 38.

[43]Miller, Harsh, p. 43.

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[45]Day, Liturgical Conference, August 1968, DD-CW Collection.

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